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ONE YEAR FOR FIFTY CENTS.

THE INDICTMENT OF THE CENTURIES!

Victor L. Berger Writes of the History of the Roman Church.

WE did not seek this fight with the Catholic church; it was forced upon us. But we point to the fountain-head of Christianity and say to the clergy:

It was your class that robbed the poor of their rightful heritage, the *patrimonium pauperum*. It is your class that has always served the powerful and ruling classes, even the most infamous among them, as spiritual bulliffs and executioners. You boast of the fact that wherever you have held the helm of state in your merciless grip, you have prevented or delayed the social revolution, which even at the time of Christ knocked at the portals of the Roman empire simultaneously with Christianity.

Very well. It is due to your work that things have come about as they are. Men of your stamp and your ambition, your predecessors, perpetrated acts of superhuman inhumanity, from which the world has suffered enough and a thousand times too much.

You will live in everlasting memory. The monument commemorating your deeds, you have yourselves erected. It is "*ero perennius*," more lasting than brass. On its broad pedestal of the awful social misery and the unutterable political disgrace of the 1500 years of your rule, stands the ridiculous figure of your "sciences," astrology, alchemy, and scholasticism.

Appeal Satan! You are the evil ones! Clear the track.

Social-Democracy now confronts you. Clad in the armor of thousands of years of human experience and armed with all the sciences—the weapons of our modern time—this champion of humanity is proof against all your craft and trickery and will press irresistably onward.

Social-Democracy is the only true friend of mankind. It will uplift all weary and heavy laden beings, even those poor dupes among your lower clergy, your nuns and monks, who have hitherto been the slaves of ignorance, bigotry and fanaticism and who are compelled to render menial services to the rich and powerful church dignitaries and to renounce all the happiness of life.

We Social-Democrats are free and equal men, as were the early Christians. Like them we delegate the supreme authority on all important questions to society. We use the referendum. Our fundamental and inviolable principles are absolute liberty of conscience, of thought, and of action. With us these are not meaningless phrases, but a life necessity.

The only restriction which we wish to place upon the actions of men is that we want no man to infringe upon the right and welfare of others.

Social-Democracy differs from early Christianity in one point and in this it towers far above so-called primitive Christianity. We set as the goal of humanity the strongest and most practical furtherance of human knowledge and skill, the impartial and unfettered development of science, the loving cultivation of art, the refinement and ennoblement of all that bears the mark of humanity.

The aim and object of each individual should be to participate according to his best ability in this grand work of civilization.

We should thus fulfill the object of life.

To all those who believe in a future heaven and hell, we say: How can anything divide us in this earthly existence, which, according to your own confession, lies beyond its limits?

We want to do our best in this life, the only one of which we all are perfectly certain, and therefore we are fighting these intellectual battles.

We do not wish to rob you of your faith. Far be it from us to desire anything of the kind. But consider your attitude well.

If there be an heretic, then we shall be infinitely better prepared for it when our time comes than you will be, and we shall take leave of this beautiful earth in a cheerful spirit.

And if there be a Deity, he must be a perfect being, embracing all that lives and moves, a being who, men will serve best by fully developing their intellectual capacities and striving to come nearer the divine through becoming fully human. But this is the Social-Democratic aim.

Room for the Social-Democratic.

Victor L. Berger.

A WORD TO THE WORKERS

The Social-Democratic Herald is doing its utmost to create a demand for union labels and shop cards, and is meeting with flattering success.

Much of the credit for this success is due to the activity of the members of the several women's clubs and union auxiliaries, who are using our BUYERS' BULLETIN as a purchasing guide.

In the interest of the workers generally, this activity should be encouraged and enlarged.

The Party organization is doing all in its power to weaken the labor movement (both industrial and political) by an unceasing attack on the labor press. Merchants have been advised not to advertise in labor papers, and the indication are that some Milwaukee merchants are acting on this advice.

It is a duty you owe to yourselves, your families and the organizations to which you belong to stand as far as possible, giving comfort to the enemies of the working class movement.

One excellent method is to patronize those merchants who advertise in the columns of the Social-Democratic Herald, at the same time telling them why you do so and demanding the label on the goods you buy.

Another method is to go to them toward extending the influence of the Herald by carrying a supply of subscription cards, which will be supplied to you at the rate of five for two dollars, to be paid for when you have disposed of them.

Don't delay, but STRIKE WHILE THE IRON IS HOT.

Let's see. August Belmont, American representative of the Rothschilds; Andy Carnegie, whose bands are still bloody with the massacre of his workmen at Homestead; Pres. Roosevelt, who dismissed two latter carriers because as officers of their organization they sought to secede from congress; better conditions for the carriers; Marcus Marks, who led the fight for the open shop against the Garment Workers of the East; H. H. Vreeland, with an Al record as a union-sabotager; G. A. Fuller, whose firm first led Sam Parks into evil ways and then brought him to New York as a "scab" to use for their dishonest purposes and had him on their payroll after he became a union leader; Pres. Eliot, who still persists that the "scab" is a hero; and Phipps and other leaders of the steel trust whose men are still on strike in the Ohio mills—these and many more like them, are the material out of which the Civic Federation, Sam Gompers, vice-president and boss-master, is made! Form your own judgment.

Well, well! Here's the limit! The senate of the Nebraska legislature has just passed a law making it a crime to work a monkey in commercial advertising columns or any

the monkeys are considered of more importance than working men, women and children. If the monkeys law works all right and people get used to it perhaps after a while the legislature of that state will pass an eight hour law for human beings also—but stay! We almost forgot. You see, monkeys are worked by Italian organ grinders who are not capitalists and so have no voice in legislation, but human workers are employed by capitalists who own our modern government, so it looks pretty blue for the human workers getting an eight hour relief. It is significant that the Nebraska law was passed at the instance of the Nebraska Anti-Cruelty Society. Most such societies are largely made up of sentimental members of the capitalist class, who will shed bitter tears over the sorrows of a stray dog, or a thirsty cat, but who are never able to regard the workers as anything else but "hands" who get paid for their work and therefore can have no grievances!

We recently referred to Harpers as a "scab" sheet. Well, we take it all back. The error was easily made, as the paper in question is the best out and certainly no one reads the editorial columns or any

Labor-saving machinery should help mankind and ease his labors. But under private ownership all labor-saving devices only add to the torture of the people.

Prof. Frank Parsons of Boston has been roused by Pres. Eliot's comments on the labor situation in writing the following well-put report:

"President Eliot of Harvard does not see why workingmen want short hours. He says he wants to work all the hours he can. Verily, so do I. But that is because I am doing the sort of work I love and I am my own boss. This is still more emphatically the case with President Eliot. His labor is a delight. It is intellectual, social, civic, ethical, at the same time that it is industrial. But let him drudge in a coal mine, or toll in a rolling mill ten or twelve hours a day, at the beck and call of a boss, exhausting body and soul for a mere subsistence, and subject to discharge at the will of an unscrupulous employer, and see if he will not join in a movement for the eight-hour day. It is a movement of the deepest significance to humanity, a movement that lies at the very heart of civilization and progress, and even from the economic standpoint it is of vital importance. It is the long hours of overwork that are to blame for many of the most terrible railroad accidents. And it is the long hours of brutalizing toil that make the man with the 'hoe.'

In New York there is a tenement building that has come to be known as the "lung building" because of the great number of cases of consumption that have been taken to the hospitals from it. Similar plague-spots exist in every large city, and even the smaller ones, even though their fell work may not be recognized. In Milwaukee, for instance, the records show that from three buildings on Clinton street thirty cases of consumption have already been taken to the county hospital, and it was only recently that the records were studied out to see what they would show. The county almshouse has furnished 36 cases, cases which had their beginning before the victims reached that end of the poor man's journey. The records also show that the lower river wards furnish an increditable number of cases. A good deal to relieve this state of things will come from education. Public sentiment must be educated up to the point where the community will have the courage to tear down buildings dangerous to health, and the working people must be educated against the terrible effects on health of vitiated house air and unsanitary surroundings. This is to stir up a revolt in the breasts of the working class against the inhuman conditions and surroundings that hedge in their luckless lives under capitalism, but the sooner they revolt the better.

What History Shows as to the Morals of the Detractors of Socialism.

We can point Christia's oft-quoted saying, "Let him who is without sin cast the first stone," at the priests who are charging that Social-Democracy stands for moral laxness. Can the priests as a class come to a consideration of this question with clean hands? He who reads history can only have one answer to this question. He who has not read history will be surprised to learn that at one time nearly every priest resorted to concubinage. At one time in some portions of Europe a concubinage tax was exacted of the clergy without exception, even of those who lived chastely outside the marriage relation.

A certain prelate boasted openly at his table that he had in his diocese 1,000 priests who kept concubines, and who paid him, each of them, a crown a year for their license," says Cornelius Agrippa. The tax was officially called by the church "enclavigum."

In the Dark Ages (from the Fifth to the Fifteenth century) Europe was plunged in a moral darkness almost impossible to realize according to our moral standards of today. During these thousand years of moral darkness the Roman Catholic church ruled Europe. But even before this period many of her representatives were morally abominable. Thus as early as the Fourth century efforts at purification were attempted through statute. In the year A. D. 370, Dr. Cormenin tells us in his "History of the Popes," that Emperors Valentinian, Valens and Gratian enacted laws prohibiting ecclesiastics and monks from entering the houses of widows, single women living alone, or girls who had lost their parents. Moreover the presence of a priest's mother or sister was forbidden in his house, so common had incest become.

This seems too horrible and repugnant to believe and yet it is reported by the historian of Dr. Agrippa as a "scab" sheet. Well, we take it all back. The error was easily made, as the paper in question is the best out and certainly no one reads the editorial columns or any

IN ARGENTINE REPUBLIC TOO!

La Revue Socialiste quotes a rather remarkable passage from the inaugural address of the new President of Argentine Republic, Manuel Quintana, as follows:

"The social question notwithstanding the predictions of a false optimism, henceforth demands the attention of the public powers. The proposed national law will undoubtedly contribute to lessen the violence of strikes and in general to prevent those frequent conflicts between employers and employees which sometimes interrupt the country's production. But the regulation of labor will not suffice and in order to comply with the tendencies of contemporary civilization, we must modify the fiscal system and, in some particulars, the common law. This is the only way to correct, so far as possible, the inequalities of fortune and the unequal oppositions of capital. The minimum program (immediate demands) of the Argentine Socialist party is in large part acceptable and can be adopted by the public powers, in so far as it does not affect the constitution and as it respects the supremacy of the state." La Revue Socialiste comments: "Without attaching too much importance to these favorable assurances, which may be modified by the pressure of the reactionary parties, we may say that the speech marks a new era in the life of the country. Even if these promises are only promises, this much has been achieved that, for the first time, a regular government has admitted the validity of our minimum program."

Capitalism is a system by which the great majority of the people are rendered unsuccessful!

Scribner's Magazine for February contains an illustrated article on "The Progress of Socialism" by a writer who evidently has a brief from the rich, although the publishers also get in their venomous sting by the titles placed under some of the illustrations. Under a wide picture of a Social-Democratic meeting in Germany, appears this malicious line: "Listening to a demagogue leader who appeals to envy and passion, and under a guise of justice and equality proposes measures that are vague and inscrutable." Scribner's Magazine doesn't care for Socialist patronage.

A nondescript named Francis B. Livesey of Sykesville, Md., has been making himself busy for the past several years in writing letters to the press of this country against the public schools. The schools ought to be in private hands, complicity in education must not be established. Otherwise they will breed so many Socialists that the government will become paternalistic and everybody will be enslaved. The public schools are educating individuality out of the children—yes, and worse than that—they are "denying" the children the right of "development through work." In other words, the public schools are keeping children out of the factories? Livesey is also worked up because negroes are getting public school education. It is making them "children of the state!" In a manifold letter recently sent out by this strange human being, he inveighs against Socialism in a hysterical way and ends up by eulogizing Archbishop Messmer of Wisconsin and Father Kress for their fight on Social-Democracy and through it the public school system.

Will our esteemed contemporary, The Worker, of New York, take the trouble to look over the article, "Socialism: What it is and what it seeks to accomplish," a little more critically? David Kahn, its author, may be a conscientious young man and the judges of the Evening High School who awarded him the prize may have been conscientious, but the fact remains that in some mysterious way entire sentences and even entire paragraphs from the writings of Eugene V. Debs have gotten into the prize article, and without so much as quote marks to distinguish them. Some of the sentences have previously made their bow to the world through the columns of the Social-Democratic Herald.

All of these things we have given above are historically recorded and the citations may be verified and corroborated by anyone taking the trouble to investigate the subject.

We have only given a very small

part of it, and yet enough to justify us in questioning the right of the priests of Rome to attack Socialism upon the claim that they want to protect the morals of the people.

Society has progressed up from the

moral degradation of the Dark Ages until now, through the Social-Democrats it is crying out for still further moral advancement.

It is now demanding a condition of society in which money matches and the prostitution of womankind shall disappear.

We are not attacking any church.

People of all churches are in the

Socialist movement. And Socialism

can be abundantly defended on its

merits. But the viciousness of cer-

cain priests attacks on Socialism

seem to make it necessary to call

attention to the morals of the Dark

Age, when society was completely

ruled by the priesthood. This paper

respects the right of conscience and

belief of all the people. Moreover

it is our firm conviction that truly

religious people will find in Social-

ism the possibility of at last put-

ting the golden rule in practice

without thereby inviting calamity

upon themselves. But our rea-

son for the rights of belief must not

keep us silent under attack—and at

the knee of monk or priest who

You think you do not take any stock in Socialism. But how do you know, unless you give it a careful investigation?

The cost of living, relative to the incomes of the working class, was never so high. Only at capitalism's door can the blame be laid.

Did you ever see a president elected by a capitalist party that didn't have to play the hypocrite Lincoln possibly excepted?

Joseph H. Ambroz and Andrew Olson, Socialist members of the Illinois legislature, returned R. R. passes to the presidents of the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul, the Wahash and the Chicago and Alton, with the explanation that the Socialist party is a party of the working class, and as representatives of that party, they seek only to further the interests of the workers. Unlike the men selected by the old political parties they are not in the Legislature to do the work of the corporations. Therefore, they can not, and have no desire to, do the sort of work for which these tickets are intended as payment.

Comrade Frederick William Fritzsche, aged 80 years, died in Philadelphia, Feb. 4th. Comrade Fritzsche was one of the few Socialist members of the German Reichstag in the early seventies and was again elected from the Fourth district of Berlin, with an increased plurality, after the dissolution of the Reichstag by Bismarck in 1871. He fought as a volunteer in Schleswig-Holstein and was wounded in battle in 1848 and in 1849 took part in the May revolution at Dresden, and was made a prisoner at the first barricade. For more than ten years he has resided in Philadelphia, and has held the position of librarian in the Labor Lyceum.

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They have seen this same congress, session after session, making false promises to deluded labor committees, pretending to be the friends of workingmen and anxious to be of service to them, while at the same time in league with the capitalist lobby and pledged to defeat every measure that would afford even the slightest promise of relief to the working class. The anti-injunction bill and the eight-hour measure, pigeon-holed and rejected again and again in the face of repeated promises that they should pass, tell their own story of dunciety and treachery to labor by the highest legislative body in the land.

They have seen Republican governors and Democratic governors order out the militia repeatedly to shoot down workingmen at the command of their capitalist masters.

They have seen these same governors construct military prisons and "bull pens," seize unoffending workingmen without warrant of law and thrust them into these vile quarters for no other reason than to break up their unions and leave them helpless at the feet of corporate rapacity.

They have seen the supreme court of the nation turn labor out without a hearing, while the corporation lawyers, who compose this august body, and who hold their commissions in virtue of the "well done

Classics of Social-Democracy.

SOCIALISM FROM UTOPIA TO SCIENCE.

By FREDERICK ENGELS.

[Frederick Engels, who jointly with Karl Marx put the philosophy of Socialism on a scientific basis, was born in Barmen, Germany, Nov. 28, 1820, and was the son of a manufacturer. He received a scientific education and afterward entered mercantile life in Berlin and in England in establishments partly owned by his father. He joined with Marx in writing the celebrated "Communist Manifesto," and was the author of other Socialist and economic works. His "Socialism from Utopia to Science" was written in 1875.]

(PREFACE CONTINUED.)

The industrial revolution had created a class of large manufacturers, but also a class—and a far more numerous one—of manufacturing workpeople. This class gradually increased in numbers, in proportion as the industrial revolution seized upon one branch of manufacture after another, and in the same proportion it increased in power. This power it proved as early as 1824, by forcing a reluctant Parliament to repeal the acts forbidding combinations of workmen. During the Reform agitation, the working-men constituted the Radical wing of the Reform party; the Act of 1832 having excluded them from the suffrage, they formulated their demands in the People's Charter, and constituted themselves, in opposition to the great bourgeois Anti-Corn Law party, into an independent party, the Chartists, the first working-men's party of modern times.

Then came the Continental revolutions of February and March, 1848, in which the working people played such a prominent part, and, at least in Paris, put forward demands which were certainly inadmissible from the point of view of capitalist society. And then came the general reaction. First the defeat of the Chartists on the 10th of April, 1848, then the crushing of the Paris working-men's insurrection in June of the same year, then the disasters of 1849 in Italy, Hungary, South Germany, and at last the victory of Louis Bonaparte over Paris, 2nd December, 1851. For a time, at least, the bugbear of working-class pretensions was put down, but at what a cost! If the British bourgeoisie had been convinced before of the necessity of maintaining the common people in a religious mood, how much more must he feel that necessity after all these experiences? Regardless of the sneers of his Continental compatriots, he continued to spend thousands and tens of thousands, year after year, upon the evangelization of the lower orders; not content with his own native religious machinery, he appealed to Brother Jonathan, the greatest organizer in existence of religion as a trade, and imported from America revivalism, Moody and Sankey, and the like; and, finally, he accepted the dangerous aid of the Salvation Army, which revives the propaganda of early Christianity, appeals to the poor as the elect, fights capitalism in a religious way, and thus fosters an element of early Christian class antagonism, which one day may become troublesome to the well-to-do people who now find the ready money for it.

It seems a law of historical development that the bourgeoisie can in no European country get hold of political power—at least for any length of time—in the same exclusive way in which the feudal aristocracy kept hold of it during the Middle Ages. Even in France, where feudalism was completely extinguished, the bourgeoisie, as a whole, has held full possession of the Government for very short periods only. During Louis Philippe's reign, 1830-48, a very small portion of the bourgeoisie ruled the kingdom; but by far the larger part were excluded from the suffrage by the high qualification. Under the second Republic, 1848-51, the whole bourgeoisie ruled, but for three years only; their incapacity brought on the second Empire. It is only now, in the third Republic, that the bourgeoisie as a whole have kept possession of the helm for some twenty years; and they are already showing lively signs of decadence. A durable reign of the bourgeoisie has been possible only in countries like America, where feudalism was unknown, and society at the very beginning started from a bourgeois basis. And even in France and America, the successors of the bourgeoisie, the working people, are already knocking at the door.

In England, the bourgeoisie never held undivided sway. Even the victory of 1832 left the landed aristocracy in almost exclusive possession of all the leading Government offices. The meekness with which the wealthy middle-class submitted to this, remained inconceivable to me until the great Liberal manufacturer, Mr. W. A. Forster, in a public speech implored the young men of Bradford to learn French, as a means to get on in the world, and quoted from his own experience how sheepish he looked when, as a Cabinet Minister, he had to move in society where French was, at least, as necessary as English! The fact was, the English middle-class of that time were, as a rule, quite undiscerning upstarts, and could not help leaving to the aristocracy those superior Governmental places where other qualifications were required than mere insular narrowness and insular conceit, seasoned by business sharpness.¹ Even now the endless newspaper debates about middle-class education show that the English middle-class does not yet consider itself good enough for the best education, and looks to something more modest. Thus, even after the Repeal of the Corn Laws, it appeared a matter of course, that the men who had carried the day, the Cobdens, Brights, Forsters, etc., should remain excluded from a share in the official government of the country, until twenty years afterwards, a new Reform Act opened to them the door of the Cabinet. The English bourgeoisie are, up to the present day, so deeply penetrated by a sense of their social inferiority that they keep up, at their own expense and that of the nation, an ornamental caste of drones to represent the nation worthily at all State functions; and they consider themselves highly honored whenever one of themselves is found worthy of admission into this select and privileged body, manufactured, after all, by themselves.

The industrial and commercial middle-class had, therefore, not yet succeeded in driving the landed aristocracy completely from political power when another competitor, the working-class, appeared on the stage. The reaction after the Chartist movement and the Continental revolutions, as well as the unparalleled extension of English trade from 1848-1866, (ascribed vulgarly to Free Trade alone, but due far more to the colossal development of railways, ocean steamers, and means of intercourse generally), had again driven the working-class into the dependency of the Liberal party, of which they formed, as in pre-Chartist times, the Radical wing. Their claims to the franchise, however, gradually became irresistible; while the Whig leaders of the Liberals "funked," Disraeli showed his superiority by making the Tories seize the favourable moment and introduce household suffrage in the boroughs, along with a redistribution of seats. Then followed the ballot; then in 1884 the extension of household suffrage to the counties and a fresh redistribution of seats, by which electoral districts were to some extent equalized. All these measures considerably increased the electoral power of the working-class, so much so that in at least 150 to 200 constituencies that class now furnishes the majority of votes. But parliamentary government is a capital school for teaching respect for tradition; if the middle-class look with awe and veneration upon what Lord John Manners playfully called "our old nobility," the mass of the working-people then looked up with respect and deference to what used to be designated as "their betters," the middle-class. Indeed, the British workman, some fifteen years ago, was the model workman, whose respectful regard for the position of his master, and whose self-restraining modesty in claiming rights for himself, consoled our German economists of the *Katheder-Socialist* school for the incurable communistic and revolutionary tendencies of their own working-men at home.

But the English middle-class—good men of business as they are—saw farther than the German professors. They had shared their power but reluctantly with the working-class. They had learnt, during the Chartist years, what that *puer robustus sed malitious*, the people, is capable of. And since that time, they had been compelled to incorporate the better part of the People's Charter in the Statutes of the United Kingdom. Now, if ever, the people must be kept in order by moral means,

¹ And even in business matters, the conceit of national Chauvinism is but a sorry adviser. Up to quite recently, the average English manufacturer considered it derogatory from an Englishman to speak any language but his own, and felt rather proud than otherwise of the fact that "poor devils" of foreigners settled in England and took off his hands the trouble of disposing of his products abroad. He never noticed that these foreigners, mostly Germans, thus got command of a very large part of British foreign trade, imports and exports, and that the direct foreign trade of England became limited, almost entirely, to the colonies, China, the United States, and South America. Nor did he notice that these Germans traded with other Germans abroad, who gradually organized a complete network of commercial colonies all over the world. But when Germany, about forty years ago, seriously began manufacturing for export, this network served her admirably in her transformation, in so short a time, from a corn-exporting into a first-rate manufacturing country. Then, about ten years ago, the British manufacturers got frightened, and asked his ambassadors and consuls how it was that he could no longer keep his customers there. The unanimous answer was: (1) You don't learn your customer's language but expect him to speak your own; (2) You don't even try to suit your customer's wants, habits, and tastes, but expect him to conform to your English ones.

and the first and foremost of all moral means of action upon the masses is remains—religion. Hence the parsons' majorities on the School Boards, hence the increasing self-taxation of the bourgeoisie for the support of all sorts of revivalism, from ritualism to the Salvation Army.

And now came the triumph of British respectability over the free-thought and religious laxity of the Continental bourgeoisie. The workmen of France and Germany had been rebels. They were thoroughly infected with socialism, and, for very good reasons, were not at all particular as to the legality of the means by which to secure their own ascendancy. The *puer robustus*, here, turned from day to day more *malitious*. Nothing remained to the French and German bourgeoisie as a last resource but to silently drop freethought, as a youngster, when seasickness creeps upon him, quietly drops the burning cigar he brought swaggering on board; one by one, the scoffers turned pious in outward behaviour, spoke with respect of the Church, its dogmas and rites, and even conformed with the latter as far as could not be helped. French bourgeoisie dined *mâitre* on Fridays, and German ones sat out long Protestant sermons in their pews on Sundays. They had come to grief with materialism. "*Die Religion muss dem Volk erhalten werden*,"—religion must be kept alive for the people—that was the only and the last means to save society from utter ruin. Unfortunately for themselves, they did not find this out until they had done their level best to break up religion for ever. And now it was the turn of the British bourgeoisie to sneer and to say: "Why, you fools, I could have told you that two hundred years ago!"

However, I am afraid neither the religious stolidity of the British, nor the *post festum* conversion of the Continental bourgeoisie will stem the rising Proletarian tide. Tradition is a great retarding force, is the *res inertiae* of history, but, being merely passive, is sure to be broken down; and thus, religion will be no lasting safeguard to capitalist society. If our juridical, philosophical, and religious ideas are the more or less remote offshoots of the economical relations prevailing in a given society, such ideas cannot, in the long run, withstand the effects of a complete change in these relations. And, unless we believe in supernatural revelation, we must admit that no religious tenets will ever suffice to prop up a tottering society.

In fact, in England too, the working-people have begun to move again. They are, no doubt, shackled by traditions of various kinds. Bourgeois traditions, such as the widespread belief that there can be but two parties, Conservatives and Liberals, and that the working-class must work out its own salvation by and through the great Liberal party. Working-men's traditions, inherited from their first tentative efforts at independent action, such as the exclusion, from ever so many old Trade Unions, of all applicants who have gone through a regular apprenticeship; which means the breeding by every such union, of its own blacklegs. But for all that the English working-class is moving, as even Professor Brentano has sorrowfully had to report to his brother Katheder-Socialists. It moves, like all things in England, with a slow and measured step, with hesitation here, with more or less unfruitful, tentative attempts there; it moves now and then with an over-cautious mistrust of the name of Socialism, while it gradually absorbs the substance; and the movement spreads and seizes one layer of the workers after another. It has now shaken out of their torpor the unskilled laborers of the East End of London, and we all know what a splendid impulse these fresh forces have given it in return. And if the pace of the movement is not up to the impatience of some people, let them not forget that it is the working-class which keeps alive the finest qualities of the English character, and that, if a step in advance is once gained in England, it is, as a rule, never lost afterwards. If the sons of the old Chartists, for reasons explained above, were not quite up to the mark, the grandsons bid fair to be worthy of their forefathers.

But the triumph of the European working-class does not depend upon England alone. It can only be secured by the co-operation of, at least, England, France, and Germany. In both the latter countries the working-class movement is well ahead of England. In Germany it is even within measurable distance of success. The progress it has made there during the last twenty-five years is unparalleled. It advances with ever-increasing velocity. If the German middle-class have shown themselves lamentably deficient in political capacity, discipline, courage, energy and perseverance, the German working-class have given ample proof of all these qualities. Four hundred years ago, Germany was the starting-point of the first upheaval of the European middle-class; as things are now, is it outside the limits of possibility that Germany will be the scene, too, of the first great victory of the European proletariat?

E. ENGELS.

April 20th, 1892.

THE END.

THE MODERN GAS LIGHT CO. AND THE PEOPLE

Since the beginning of the agitation to strike out the word "exclusive" in the local gas monopoly's franchise, that company has taken much more than the ordinary amount of interest in the service of its patrons.

Time was when the average consumer of gas considered it waste of time to "register a kick" against exorbitant bills or poor service.

All that is changed now.

In the endeavor to overcome the sentiment in favor of public ownership of public-service utilities (at least as far as a gas plant is concerned), every effort is being made to gain the good will of the consumers of gas.

A club of employees of the company has been formed for the purpose of bringing about harmony between the different branches of the service and to study the needs of gas consumers and how to meet such needs. Meetings are held and views exchanged daily.

But, as is usually the case with public-service corporations, the local monopoly has delayed too long to give heed to the just demands of the consumers of its product.

The reforms being inaugurated at this time come in the nature of a confession of past guilt, and will only serve to expose to public gaze other more glaring offenses as yet unconfessed.

That the gas consumers of Milwaukee are being overcharged is evidenced by the fact that two prices are charged to a single consumer for the same product.

In order to make this possible,

the consumer must also pay for the reading of two meters instead of one.

But the local company does not confine itself "exclusively" to the business of supplying gas.

At the time of the coal famine an excellent opportunity was afforded it to fleece the suffering public by exacting an exorbitant price for coke, and it seized the opportunity forthwith and has fattened on it ever since.

Not being satisfied with the control of a "natural monopoly," it endeavored to create an "artificial monopoly" of the sale of gas ranges, and would no doubt have met with complete success had it not been for the fact that the retail hardware dealers' association succeeded in partially frustrating its design.

The arguments advanced in sup-

port of this scheme, however, are worthy of consideration.

It is claimed that the company is interested in supplying its customers with the better grades of stoves only.

one or more manufacturers, better work and lower prices are assured.

The company is also interested in having the connections properly made, satisfactory fixtures and lights provided, and so on, *ad infinitum*.

All of which arguments are in support of the contention of the Social-Democrats that monopoly is the legitimate offspring of competition.

And, under proper conditions, monopoly is a good thing—at least for those on the inside.

The Milwaukee Gas Light Company is striving to build up a machine that will keep it on the inside. Should it succeed in making its position secure, the public may "whistle" as the public has "whistled" on several previous occasions.

But it will not succeed. It has been found guilty at the bar of public opinion, and in due time it will be dethroned and the people will take its place.

Every effort on the part of a monopoly to stem the tide of progress only serves to hasten the day when the people will discover that they are perfectly capable of conducting their own affairs; and not that alone, but they will discover that they must conduct their own affairs or suffer the consequences of their neglect.

The most dangerous feature of private monopoly is the power to corrupt and control government, by means of which power other evils are encouraged and fostered, resulting finally in the virtual disfranchisement of the individual citizen.

Herein lie the real perils that today endanger the liberties of the people, and unless the problem is met and the proper remedies applied at the present time, future generations will be obliged to settle it by means of more radical, and perhaps violent, measures.

Albert J. Welch.

"If suddenly," says Ruskin, "in the midst of the enjoyment of the palate and lightness of heart of a Christmas dinner party, the walls of the room were parted, and through their gap the nearest human beings who were famishing and in misery were born into the midst of the company feasting and fancy-free—if, pale from death, horrible in destitution, broken by despair, body by body they were laid upon the soft carpet, one beside the chair of every guest, would only the crumb of the dainties be cast to them?—would only a passing glance, a passing thought, be vouchsafed to them? Yet the actual facts, the real relation of each Dives and Lazarus, are not altered by the intervention of the house-wall between the table and the sick-bed—by a few feet of ground (how few!) which are, indeed, all that separate the misery from the misery?"

"Confessions of Capitalism," five cents each, fifty copies, one dollar.

WISCONSIN SOCIALIST LAW-MAKERS

What they are About and How they are Succeeding.

IN THE LEGISLATURE: Senate—Jacob Rummel, Assembly—Edmund Berner, Frederick Brockhausen, W. J. Aldrich, A. Strebow.

IN THE CITY COUNCIL, MILWAUKEE: Albert J. Welch, Frederic Heath, Edmund T. Melms, Gustave Wild, Emil Seidel, Carl Malewski, Henry W. Grantz, Edward Schram, Nicolas Petersen.

IN THE COUNTY BOARD, MILWAUKEE.—Frank Boness, James Sheehan, Charles Jeske, Gustav Geerdt.

MADISON, Feb. 14, 1905.—After

over a month of ceaseless work on the part of the Socialists in the Legislature of Wisconsin, in a state noted for its liberal and progressive factory laws, the Reform Administration has at last agreed to change the rules of the assembly and the senate so as to abolish the employment of child labor in the capitol. I wish that the voters of the state at large could have seen the fight which has been waged against this matter by the members of the assembly. The law, court decisions, parliamentary tactics, shutting off debate and discussion, and even the party whip were used in trying to defeat the proposition. One assemblyman, who was the inaugurator of the scheme to make the little pages "divide up" their pay with other boys in order that he might be able to fulfill his pre-campaign promises to his political heelers, fought with might and main upon the floor and in the committee room in his attempts to prevent the assembly from going on record as the employer of child labor. Finally, when the resolution of which I spoke in my article of last week came before the assembly last Thursday morning he was who was so instrumental in having action upon the same proposed indefinitely.

The affair came about in this manner: The administration was ashamed to stand convicted before the voters of the state as violators of the child labor laws. No stone was left unturned in the attempt to smother the resolution in the committee room or to defeat its purpose upon the floor of the assembly. When the report of the judiciary committee upon this matter was brought before the assembly last Thursday morning, a motion was made by said Leroy to postpone action upon the same indefinitely in as much as a resolution had been passed earlier in the day instructing the committee on rules to change the rules of the house so that they would conform with the child labor laws. This latter resolution had been introduced by an assemblyman who wished to kill the Socialist resolution because the latter put the house on record as employing child labor in violation of the state laws. A hot discussion took place upon the motion to indefinitely postpone and Comrade Aldridge made his maiden speech upon the floor in support of our measure. To say that "he hit 'em hard" is saying the least that can be said. Mr. Carpenter of Stevens Point, who has fought side by side with our boys in the committee meetings, also made a strong speech in favor of abolishing the employment of child labor in the capitol.

The resolution was killed, however, by a vote of 56 to 24, but the purpose of the Socialists' fight has at last been accomplished; for the committee on rules has agreed to such changes as are needed to have the rules of the legislature conform with the state laws. Hereafter the little fellows will not be forced to "divide up" their pay, and the old cry that the Socialists want to "divide up" is again knocked on the head.

Several other cases of "dividing up" have come to my notice within the last two weeks. The most important of these, perhaps, is that of Mr. Casper Smith, the postmaster of the legislature. He was given his job with the understanding that he was to receive \$5 a day. When he drew his first pay he found that he was getting but \$4 a day! Some days later he was approached by an administration heel and informed that he would have to give up another dollar of his daily wage to another fellow. When he learned of this he immediately threw up his job and shook the dust of the reformed capitol from his heels.

R. A. CROSS.

Resolutions on Death of Dr. Fay. Workingmen's Educational Club, Minneapolis, Minn., Feb. 12.

Whereas, in the natural course of human events, our comrade, co-worker and valued adviser, Dr. Henry Brigham Fay, has passed away to the great beyond, therefore be it

Resolved, that in the early death of Dr. Fay the Workingmen's Educational Club has lost one of its most valued members and that the cause of Socialism has lost one of its most active and indefatigable workers.

Resolved, that this club extends its most sincere condolence to Mrs. Fay in her irreparable loss.

Resolved, that a copy of these resolutions be sent to Mrs. Fay, that a copy be forwarded to each Socialist paper for publication, and that they be inscribed upon the minutes of this meeting. By Order of Committee,

L. A. Hunt, Secretary.

The Herald ten weeks, ten cents.

...DRINK...

Schlitz

The Beer that Made Milwaukee Famous.

The main difference between good beer and bad beer is in the after-effect. You notice that pure beer, Schlitz beer, does not make you ill. Pure beer is good for you; bad beer is unhealthy. You may be absolutely certain of its healthfulness when you drink Schlitz Beer.

A LANCE FOR FRA ELBERTUS.

Some Foggy Wisdom of the Sage of Roycroft.

Elbert Hubbard, for the passing moment, is perhaps the most conspicuous example of the common type of reformer who expects great things to come about "when human nature changes."

Mr. Hubbard is now a Socialist—just what kind of a Socialist we are not quite certain—since he performed the remarkable feat, last month, of scoring the political followers of Marx in the Philistine and applying for membership in the party at East Aurora.

And, while at the time of writing the magazine article, Mr. Hubbard was fully in accord with the principles of "Fabian" Socialism, he balked at Marxian Socialism, for the peculiar reason that Marxian Socialism stands for the making of an active campaign for justice, while the other kind believes in waiting until justice comes of its own accord.

"Fabian Socialism," said the Fra, "recognizes that society can change only as the natures of individuals change."

And:

"I doubt me much that the time will ever come when two pigs meeting at the trough, will hesitate before jumping into the swill, and the bigger one say to the other, 'After you, my dear Alphonse!'"

The figures used in Mr. Hubbard's illustration appear to be more or less apt, since some blunt Socialists declare that capitalism makes hogs out of men, while claiming that Socialism would make men out of idlers.

In other words, they ask that wage slavery be abolished by abolishing the thing that makes wage slavery possible—the private ownership by a few of the land and tools with which all men must work to get a living.

And concurrently with this, they ask that the robbery concealed beneath the profit-taking system—the system that gets something for nothing by adding fictitious value to the cost of production—be abolished.

In other words, they ask that the things that men eat, drink and wear be produced for the purpose of making all men comfortable instead of for the purpose of making a few idlers rich.

Can these things be done without changing human nature?"

Has anything been proposed except that a few ponderous persons shall get off the backs of the rest of us?

And wasn't that exactly what Abraham Lincoln did when he compelled the slave-holders to get off the backs of the slaves?

Yet no one will claim that the Emancipation Proclamation changed the natures of the slave-holders. Re-enact the slavery laws and there would be no wanting gentlemen who would put the blacks in bondage again. The United States has simply ceased to offer the prize of indulgent, luxurious ease to those who would live off the labor of human chattels.

Yet all of this is no reason why Socialists should not welcome to their ranks so eminent a citizen as Hubbard. But perhaps it IS a reason.

Socialists deny the old Biblical doctrine that the "heart of man is unspeakably vile and full of wickedness," and substitute the contention that men are vile or wicked only to the extent that the conditions created by society tend to make it of material advantage to be vile or wicked.

They say that so long as the laws of the land make it possible for a few idlers to obtain much wealth from the toil of others, the most unscrupulous of the few will even break the laws to make the most of their opportunities.

They say that so long as the laws of the land make it profitable to work children to death in the cotton mills of the South, children will be ruthlessly slaughtered by eminently respectable gentlemen who would not even step on the tail of a cat in their own homes.

And, holding these convictions about the cause of wrong-doing, Socialists simply propose to remove the cause by asking the world to cease to offer its richest material prizes to the most conscienceless and the most unscrupulous.

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son why the Fra should defer for a time, his "Little Journey to the Home of Karl Marx."

For, the great man's disembodied spirit might have things to say just now.

A. L. B.

Under Socialism

there will be no time for idleness, but plenty of leisure, and plenty of entertainment for that leisure.

UNDER SOCIALISM

armies will be raised, equipped, and drilled to produce wealth, instead of destroying wealth and men.

UNDER SOCIALISM

the people will have enough physical work to keep in good health, and enough pleasure to make life a delight.

UNDER SOCIALISM

nations will be constructed to carry people and exchange products, instead of destroying people and destroying products.

UNDER SOCIALISM

every person will be full of patriotism, for that means a love of a country's institutions, and they will be worthy of love.

UNDER SOCIALISM

everybody will love the flag, without any question, for it will be a national flag in the truest sense.

UNDER SOCIALISM

a man who works at any vocation will be just as highly socialized, being fitted for society, as any other worker in any other vocation. All will be useful workers.

UNDER SOCIALISM

machinery and organization will take from the housewife nine-tenths of her labor. She will cease to be a drudge, and the servant girl question will be a thing of the past.

UNDER SOCIALISM

there will be no cornering and speculating on the necessities or pleasures of the people. The things produced will belong to the whole people until they are purchased by the individuals for consumption. The price will be the same to all—the time cost of the average production.

UNDER SOCIALISM

every one will have to do his or her share of the world's work, if they would enjoy the benefit of it. There will be none overworked or under-worked. There will be neither slaves nor slave-drivers.—Labor Leader.

If you are a consistent union man you will demand the union label and shop card when buying goods and having work done, and you will induce the other members of your family to do likewise; and, incidentally, we might remark, if you persist in being consistent, you will vote a union ticket the next chance you get. Are you a consistent union man? It's up to you.

The Vanguard is a wonderful gray-matter agitator. One year, 50 cents.

Send for a copy of our complete Socialist book catalogue.

WHAT THE PRESS SAYS:

Governmental Intervention.

Daily News, Milwaukee: In the Jan. number of *The Leader*, David Graham Phillips discusses "Shifting Party Lines" and reaches the conclusion that "there was a mistake in the identification of the corpus under investigation. It is not the Democratic party, not the Democratic machine, but the plutocratic political machine, which bears the labels of both parties. And we further see that the corporation is not a corpse at all, but a still living though grieviously battered thing, like to die, but not immediately, not until it has done much formidable staggering about" and indulged in many a terrifying convulsion.

But die it must, and pass utterly away, as did the aristocracy of Jefferson's time, the bankocracy of Jackson's time, the slaveocracy of Lincoln's time.

Mr. Phillips holds that the American people are Socialists. "The party lines in the future will be drawn between conservatives and radical Socialists... The inevitable logic of the situation," he says, "is a radical Socialist-Democratic party to join issue with the conservative Socialist Republican party. In principle, he contends, both parties do not differ on a single issue.

It is in the application of the principle of Socialism that they join issue. The conservative Socialists say that the wise way to make the people prosperous is by protecting manufacturers so that they can afford to pay high wages, and by protecting small manufacturers against undue aggressiveness of large manufacturers by anti-trust, freight rate laws etc. That it advocates the distribution of prosperity chiefly—for vast public works must be excepted—by private hands under government supervision and control, just as it advocates the distribution of paper as money by private hands under government supervision instead of direct issuance by the government. The radical Socialists say, "Why not the direct distribution of prosperity?" Let the government own and control all the great public utilities and all the departments of production that concern necessities of life. Let the government granually, but speedily, become the chief direct provider not only of employment for capital, but also of employment of labor. Instead of bottling up sunshine of prosperity and giving it to plutocrats to distribute, let the government turn the sun full and direct upon the people!"

Whatever theorists may hold, the great body of the people do not want a government that will "keep hands off." To that extent they are Socialists. Democrats and Republicans alike believe that through the agency of government prosperity may be created either by giving encouragements to industry or in supervising the distribution of created wealth. There is, then, no immediate possibility of an issue between either the conservative Socialists or the radical Socialists and a party proclaiming the doctrine of "let alone."

Mr. Phillips believes that the Democratic party will contend for public ownership of all public utilities and natural monopolies. It is much easier to forsee the coming of issues than to tell the attitude political parties will take toward them. It seems inevitable, however, that the politics of the future will lie between two Socialist parties, or, to be more accurate, between Socialism and Capitalism.

Influence of the Socialist Movement.

The Comrade: People who are constantly reiterating the claim that Socialism is impracticable, are singularly blind to the fact that the Socialist movement is winning unmistakable victories every day. There is not a country in the world in which the entire

governmental policy is not being modified and molded in deference to the revolutionary influence of Socialism. No thoughtful person can fail to have noted the chastened and humble silence of the emperor of Germany since he collided with Bebel over the Krupp incident. It was confidently expected that he would involve Germany in every kind if international complications by his swaggering and unfecked attitude a few years ago; but he now appears as nice a little gentleman as if his training had been won at the ribbon-counter of a department store.

Why is President Roosevelt feeling around for a way to curb railroad lawlessness? It is already acknowledged at Washington that in arguing with congressmen on the subject, he is urging the necessity for some moderate measure. "In order to check the rising Socialist sentiment of the country, which before long, in case nothing is done, will precipitate upon us a formidable movement for government ownership and operation of the railroads."

So!

Everybody who knows the power of the railroads and their ownership of the United States senate, realizes that any attempt to "regulate" them is puerile.

But the point is that the Socialist movement is forcing the president to make the attempt; and as soon as the impotence of the effort is demonstrated, it will force those in power to some more positive step. This is the great strategic value of the uncompromising revolutionary position. It keeps the enemy on the run by constantly inspiring fear of radical action.

Its undoubted efficacy is even more interestingly proven in Italy, where the Socialist vote is precipitating all sorts of concessions to the people in the hope of checking the steady progress of the proletariat. Internal taxation is being steadily reformed and the astonishingly agreeable news comes to us that the old-fashioned octroi taxes, collected on produce entering the city limits, are to be wholly abolished within a short time.

Meanwhile the railroads are being purchased from their private owners which will eventually remove this great corrupting power from Italian politics.

The Socialist vote is potent even when it does not elect a man, and when whose eyes are open will hardly dispute it.

Cotton Mills, North and South.

Free Press, Milwaukee: Now that the cotton mills of Fall River, idle for months, have resumed work, all abnormal disturbance is eliminated from an industry which is thereby remanded to the slower but not less certain disruption due to adverse economic conditions. For several years past a silent struggle for supremacy in cotton manufacturing has been going on between the north and south. Massachusetts is the original home of the industry; most of the mechanical improvements that facilitate it, from the cotton gin down, have been the device of Yankee inventors; in Fall River and Lowell the mills have been the foundation of civic prosperity for more than half a century, milling stock being bought by all classes with the same confidence government binds would inspire; the very texture of the population, with its influx of French Canadians, bears witness to the industrial importance of the mills. But for ten years or more the effects of southern competition have been making themselves felt, at first almost imperceptibly, latterly in a more urgent manner. Economic forces are at work silently but relentlessly, transforming cotton weaving from a northern to a southern industry, until little doubt remains as to how the struggle

must end. The Massachusetts workers, for all their superior intelligence, their organization and their tenacity, will be conquered by the economic rivalry of a section where the same work can be done more cheaply. Every human sympathy goes out to the men and women who have suffered and starved with the courage of their convictions, but the laws of supply and demand are against them.

Aside from the fact that locating cotton mills in the south does away with one expense, that of the transportation of raw material, a still more cogent reason exists for the lower cost of manufacture. The scale of living is lower, and there is an almost total absence of laws preventing or even regulating child labor. In states where such legislation exists the first provision is to forbid night work altogether; the second to establish an age limit, ten, twelve or fourteen, under which no child shall be employed; the third to limit the number of hours in the child's working day. In the south legal safeguards are conspicuous by their absence, and wizened mites, early grown old, are employed at all ages, at all hours and for any length of time. In many cases whole families of these little creatures belonging to the poor whites and born without muscle, stamina or power of resistance, have been gathered before the camera, their unchildlike faces and poor little stunted forms a far sadder sight than any that negro slavery, with its well-fed darkness and pickaninnies, could show. Efforts have been made, for the most part without avail, to check this evil; but the material prosperity of a whole section is bound up in it, and legislation is not to be had. Yet a shocking result of this callousness on the part of southern legislators and mill-owners is its reaction on the manufacturing states of the north with which their mills come in direct competition.

No states are better protected by law than Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, yet investigation discloses that not only are their child labor laws ill enforced, but the local police, when appealed to, evince great indifference. So true is it that the whole body politic must suffer for every violation of the laws of health and morality. Competition is a cut-throat affair, under its pressure this is settled forever. If Ford is striving to tear down and disrupt, let it be known and the Red Guard buried beneath the indignation of the outraged comrades, or its support thrown entirely upon capitalism. If the committee is guilty of a tithe of that which they have been accused by Ford let it be relegated to the flames.

Meanwhile the railroads are being purchased from their private owners which will eventually remove this great corrupting power from Italian politics.

The Socialist vote is potent even when it does not elect a man, and when whose eyes are open will hardly dispute it.

In view of the fact that a referendum is merely an expression of OPINION without the opportunity to discover FACTS, I will call upon every local to at once elect the state committee-man to which it is entitled (see Constitution, Sec. 3, Art. 3), and report your choices to these headquarters, when I will call upon them to make a rigid and complete investigation, using for this purpose that portion of the state committee residing outside of Minneapolis and St. Paul.

I will suggest the committee selecting an investigation committee of 3 or 5 to visit Minneapolis and Faribault with instructions to spare no pains to enable them to render a just and impartial decision; sifting every charge made by E. B. Ford and every act and move of the state executive committee that may be called in question, with free access to all books, records and papers in possession of either party. Comrades, it is high time this is settled forever. If Ford is striving to tear down and disrupt, let it be known and the Red Guard buried beneath the indignation of the outraged comrades, or its support thrown entirely upon capitalism. If the committee is guilty of a tithe of that which they have been accused by Ford let it be relegated to the flames.

J. E. Nash, state secy.

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166 pages. It is a big book and other publishers would charge 25 cents and not be overcharging at that. But to give it a large circulation and to enable everyone, no matter how limited his means, a chance to purchase a copy, we have set the price at 10 cents.

Single copies 10 cents; 50 copies \$4.50; 100 copies \$3.00.

For prices on larger quantities write us.

IT'S TITLE IS

Socialism Made Plain,

By ALLAN L. BENSON.

Author of "Confessions of Capitalism."

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SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC HERALD,

344 SIXTH STREET, MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN.

Walter Thomas Mills, A. M.

Teaches Socialism By Correspondence

Over Four Thousand Comrades now enjoy a work in the Socialist movement have started because by regular, systematic personal correspondence with Walter Thomas Mills. His great book

The Struggle for Existence

was the result of this correspondence work and was completed and published for use as a text book for this purpose. It contains 56 large pages and covers every possible phase of the labor question.

Over Seven Thousand of these books are now in the hands of their purchasers. Individual families and local classes are systematically studying this book with the direct assistance of the author.

All who begin to study it at once begin to profit greatly. It is impossible to be ignorant of real socialism and not become at once a real

Social-Democratic Herald

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Official Paper of the Federated Trades Council of Milwaukee and of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

The Herald is not responsible for the opinions of its contributors.

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What International Socialism Demands:

1. Collective ownership of all industries in the hands of Trusts and Combines, and of all public utilities.
 2. Democratic management of such collective industries and utilities.
 3. Reduction of the hours of labor and progressively increased Remuneration.
 4. State and National Insurance for the workers and honorable rest for old age.
 5. The Inauguration of public Industries to safeguard the workers against lack of employment.
 6. Education of ALL children up to the age of 18 years. No child labor.
 7. Equal political and civil rights for men and women.
- If you believe in the above vote with the Social-Democrats.

All communications intended for the national party and headquarters should be addressed, hereafter, to J. MAHON BARNES, NATIONAL SECRETARY, 309 DEARBORN ST., CHICAGO, ILL.

EDITORIAL ETCHINGS.

An educator in Superior, Wisconsin, whose name was being suggested for the position of state superintendent of public instruction, has declined, claiming that after a careful canvas of the situation, "he had become convinced that the contest will be practically one between the big book companies, and that he does not care to be identified with such a fight and to be ground between the upper and nether millstone." Here we have a bright light thrown on the auspices under which education in this country is being carried on! The book trust companies have a network of organization all over this country, while the independent book companies appear to be as ready for crooked work as the trust companies. It is not forgotten that the independent companies furnished the present superintendent of public instruction in Wisconsin with campaign money and that he took it and coolly asked, Tweed-like, "Well, what of it?" These warring book combines have some of the leading educators in the country under pay. They constantly bribe school teachers and school government. And there is no escaping, say this miserable situation, this pollution of the very font of knowledge, save by the means pointed out by our Social-Democratic platform: Let the people, through the government, print their own school books.

A priest is going about the country lecturing on the community of the Zoarites in Ohio, as an example of Socialism put in practice. Of course with informed people this claim of his is seen at once to be far-fetched and absurd, but he knows that there are many people still in the world who are not informed, and it is upon this ignorance that he seeks to work. Zoar was settled many years ago by a religious sect. It was communistic and in its earlier days shared the ancient church idea of the impropriety and impurity of marriage. Latterly, however, it permitted its members to marry and to bless the colony with offspring. The colony was very rich, its property was worth over a million dollars at one time, and its people were happy and virtuous and old-fashioned. Gradually the younger members became vulnerable to the vulgar seductions of the outside world, and then the death of the spiritual head of the community occurred, and the community in time decided to give up its communistic form of organization and to go back to individual ownership in the wealth of the organization. Thus the clerical gentleman above referred to says that Zoar tried Socialism and "made a failure of it." Now we know, of course, that communism is not Socialism, and that Socialism cannot be tried on a small scale, having to do with large production, but it may be well to coach our readers in case they meet this priestly bearer of false witness to ask him how the Zoar "failure" is an argument against Socialism, when the Amana community of Iowa, also a religious, communistic colony, that is practically parallel in organization to the Zoar of old, is prosperous in every way and is constantly growing! The Amana communists have occupied their domain in the most fertile part of the state of Iowa for the past half-century, during which time the settlement of Amana has become surrounded with six offshoots, each a prosperous village or community, and all within a radius of six miles. A recent article about the Amanites says: "All in all the Amana Inspirationists are a peaceful, happy and virtuous people. That they are at the same time a prosperous community is evidenced by the county auditor's books wherein their real and personal property is listed at about \$1,644,620." We say again, that a colony is not an example of Socialism—but if the argument is used, why not pick out a colony that has been a success?

Are we getting into bad ways, or where are we at, anyhow? Here's Comrade John C. Chase acting as state organizer of New York and national committeeman of Massachusetts. Moreover, while serving as national committeeman from Massachusetts and voting for Massachusetts in the referendums on the selection of a national secretary and a national executive committee, he receives, and accepts a nomination for national committeeman from New York. What sort of a Pooch-Bah affair is this? Is this the way to retain the confidence of the people? Which leg does Chase stand on, his New York leg or his Massachusetts leg—or both? The national constitution says that the members of the national committee "shall be elected by referendum vote of and from the membership of the states and territories which they respectively represent." This clearly means that a national committeeman must be a representative of the state that he serves. This Chase matter shows a tendency that we hope will never get an actual start in our movement. Duplicitous should have no place within our party, and if the Chase matter is not duplicitous, it is at least bad faith toward the party membership. Under the circumstances Chase's election from New York would be clearly invalid.

"Those men" says the Social-Democratic Herald, "who are trying to start a new labor organization in opposition to the A. F. of L. are respectfully reminded that one Daniel De Leon has a life-long opposition organization that he will close out at a bargain, as he no longer knows what to do with it." This, we presume, is a conclusively Marxian argument against industrial unionism. Shorn of its heavy British wit, it means that, because the S. T. & L. A. has been beaten, the S. T. & L. A. is laughing in his sleeve over it!

Notice, Philadelphia.

Everybody wishing to subscribe for the "Social-Democratic Herald" drop a postal to Joe P. Nick, 517 N. 8th St., Milwaukee.

TO THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTIONISTS.—THE DAY HAS COME!

You dispossessed, that mourn
In misery, abject, forlorn,
Your only crime that you were born
In poverty.
God speed the day when ye shall spurn
The ancient lie—
That some should roll in idle ease,
Lulled in the lap of luxuries,
While those that toll must starve and
freeze.
And be pacified
With what their body pleases
To cast aside.
Alas, that there should be such dearth
Of reverence for humble worth,
While basstard, gold-got pride of birth
Holds high her head,
And scorns the tillers of the earth
That make her bread!
Alas, that honest men should need!
Alas, that helpless women plead!
Alas, that tender children bleed
In our own time!

Shame! shame on those whose social
creed
Condones the crime!
God speed the day when right shall
reign.
When slaves shall cease to kneel in vain,
But rise and snap the tyrant's chain,
And take their place,
Full owners of their own again—
An unbound race.
The day will come (God grant it soon!),
When each shall have his birth-right
boon
To make and take what is his own—
His rightful share,
And none shall rep that hath not sown,
And tilled with care.
The day has come. Up, brothers, and!
The long, dark hours of night are gone,
In the trembling east the 'dread-hued
dawn
Paints red the skies.

Arise, and strike the tyrant down!
Arise! arise!

The day has come—the destined day
For which your exiled comrades pray.
Who in Siberia dungeons lay—
Cold, dark and wet.
The day has come when blood shall pay
The tyrant's debt.

The aching ages bid you rise,
Your comrades under other skies
Have fixed on you their eager eyes.
Up, men, and do!
The future ages' destinies
Depend on you!

The world-old lethargy has died,
And Liberty long centuries dead
For which your sisters' and grandsons
bled.
Must live again.
Though Russia's rivers all run red
To the crimsoned main.
Walter V. Holloway, Berkeley, Calif.
forms.

STUDENT'S CORNER

Ashplant Answers Sanial.

Soc.-Dem. Herald: I have noted with much interest the answer by Lucien Sanial (in your issue of Feb. 4th) to my question in Marx, arising from a study of the famous illustration showing the genesis of capital as solved by the process of yarn manufacture and the sale of the product.

The question "Who paid the 3/-?" = the surplus realized above gross cost of the yarn, as formulated in the communication preceding Comrade Sanial's answer, was addressed by the writer some months ago to a number of leading representatives of the Socialist analysis of the mercantile transaction in Germany, France, Belgium, England and the United States of A., and in response to that question several very interesting replies have come to hand including answers from Karl Kautsky (Germany), Emile Vandervelde (Belgium), Isadore Ladoff, M. W. Wilkins, and others of the U. S. A.

The substance of all these replies and the position taken by our much esteemed comrade, Lucien Sanial, in regard to the surplus 3/- realized above gross cost as a result of selling the yarn product in Marx's illustration is practically the same, and the answer given in "the Student's Corner" of your issue of Feb. 4th fairly represents the answer to my question given by the leaders of the International Socialist organizations of Europe and the United States.

That answer I am obliged to designate as *faulty and unsatisfactory*, and I will endeavor to support my reason for so considering this reply by Lucien Sanial.

First, I note the distinct failure of Lucien Sanial (in common with other comrades mentioned above) to clearly distinguish the real difference between the extra body of yarn produced in the latter part of the labor day, and the net profit of 3/- withdrawn from circulation in addition to the total number of shillings thrown into circulation in the process of yarn production, which is realized as a result of selling the extra body of yarn.

There is no dispute in regard to the claim that labor alone produced the yarn, although it is not always noted as carefully as it should be that labor here as used by Marx does not mean simply unfortunate low paid wage labor, but the sum of necessary social energy of all grades required to complete a product; the point at issue is:

Does labor pay the 3/- net profit? which is realized by a sale of the yarn for a sum of shillings (or dollars) in excess of the gross sum of shillings (or dollars) thrown into circulation in the process of manufacture and marketing of the yarn, or any other product?

The point at issue is that the original owner of 27/- (or dollars) in gold, gathers out of circulation 27/-+3/- in gold more than he originally owned, and I contend that Lucien Sanial does not sufficiently distinguish the vital point of difference between the extra body of yarn and this +3/- in gold which the worker did not possess and yet is realized by the capitalist.

In section 4 of his answer, Lucien Sanial says, "Suppose that the spinner's wage is reduced from 3/- to 2/- and the product still sold at 30/- before, will the correspondent still conceive that the additional 1/- has been taken from the purchaser and nothing from the spinner?"

That is exactly my difficulty. Yes!

I do contend that whatever be the number of shillings drawn from circulation in excess of the number of shillings thrown into circulation as gross cost of the yarn, there is no satisfactory evidence to me in the Marxian analysis (or in Lucien Sanial's reply to my question) that those extra shillings which function as net profit are withdrawn from the pockets of the worker, or from the social group collectively engaged in yarn production.

My question has nothing to do with the value added by labor to the raw material. It is admitted that social energy (labor) creates the whole value of the product, but that admission does not give any answer at all to my question, viz.:

From whose pockets is withdrawn

either \$ or \$3.00 more than I paid the whole social group for the factors in this product, yarn?

No amount of argument on the distinction between cost and value bides the fact that if I start into a manufacturing business with \$27.00 in gold, and pay out that \$27.00 in

reinforcements now appearing; victory is nigh.

SPOONER—And the comrades here come next with an application for charter signed by twelve men. This is splendid. These things have not just happened, for the comrades have been working for organization for some time.

WASHBURN—We mentioned the organization of this local last week, but we want to add that the comrades, five in number, are making a splendid stand for the cause in spite of the surrounding difficulties. Hold the fort, comrades, reinforcements are coming to you from every direction.

MORE REINFORCEMENTS—A charter was recently granted to

who come to us with an organization of twenty-five members. This is a splendid addition to our membership, and the work is only just begun among these comrades. Comrade Alex Halonen is pushing the work among these comrades and will shortly organize a good local among them in Racine and another in Kenosha. Further arrangements are being made for a trip through the state by a Finnish organizer that will result in the organization of a number of important points. The Finnish people in Wisconsin have already a sort of Socialist organization and so it will be easy to get many locals and hundreds of recruits from this source.

Regarding the gold question it really does not matter to the problem if the gold question is considered or not. It is simply a question of arithmetical factors in any form; potatoes can function as well as gold, and if I pay out 27 potatoes for the sum of the collective factors in 20 lbs. of yarn I want Lucien Sanial to tell me if the social group to whom I pay 27 potatoes can hand me back 30 potatoes for the finished yarn simply because I choose to say that the value of the yarn is not now 27 potatoes, for which sum I can't produce it, but if its value is now 30 potatoes or 3 potatoes more than it will cost to reproduce. If the value of any commodity is its cost of reproduction, why should the value of this yarn in Marx's illustration depart from that law and go arbitrarily to 30? And if 30 is realized, from whose pocket is withdrawn the \$3.00, or 3/-, or 3 potatoes, in excess of the 3 paid to labor?

I respectfully submit that my question is still unanswered, and I consider this point is vital to a correct presentation of the industrial process as advanced by Socialists, I will await with much interest a further reply to my inquiry: Who paid the 3/- or in other words Where does net profit come from?

Yours sincerely,

Henry B. Ashplant.

London, Ont., Can., Feb. 9, 05.

N. B. I contend that the argument for collectivism must rest on an absolutely unassailable basis. The Marxian analysis is at the present time not on that basis to the writer; I am however open to conviction.

According to Lucien Sanial's reply it takes 5 days social labor to produce 30/- in gold; also 5 days social labor to produce 20 lbs. of yarn.

Is it sound reason to suppose that the gold producers would not learn that they could secure the 20 lbs. of yarn for only 27/- in gold instead of paying over the 30/- in gold to the capitalist? They would quickly perceive that they could secure by the labor necessary to produce 27/- in gold the same quantity of yarn as when they extended their labors to 30/- in gold. Is not the cost of reproduction the law of value? It seems to me that the Marxian illustration is weak.

ATTENTION, MINNEAPOLIS.

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The Recall of Public Officials.

Milwaukee Journal: The Socialist members of the Wisconsin legislature are preparing a bill which should receive serious consideration at the hand of the law-makers. This provides for the imperative dictum or recall system which is in use in Los Angeles under that city's charter. This charter provides that upon the request of a certain number of voters any officer, holding an elective position, must hand in his resignation. The officer may be a candidate again at the next election which follows. If he receives the necessary vote, he assumes his office; if not, his opponent takes his place.

It might not be wise to make such a law apply to all officers who are elected by the people; but it does appear that municipalities could, by such a law, secure men to serve them who are much more capable than the present stock of city officers, and much more representative of the real wishes of the people. Any plan which tends to raise the standard of efficiency among city officers should not be rejected without good reason.

EVANSVILLE—Comrade Herbert Suchington writes that he will help us organize there.

MONROE—Otto Kundert writes that he will be ready to help us organize there at any time.

WFOTA—John A. Flanigan writes, "Will certainly do all in my power to help you get an organization here."

A WEEK WITH THE STATE ORGANIZER—Wednesday, February 8th, addressed the Russian Revolutionary Socialist meeting with Madame Breshkowsky at Milwaukee. Thursday organized a focal at Fond du Lac. Friday lectured at Oshkosh. Saturday answering the attacks of Catholic priest, Father Kress, on Socialism. Sunday preparing material for the bureau of information for the comrades of the state, also getting the punch cards ready. Monday lecture at Racine. Helped the comrades to start the spring campaign that will elect several men. Tuesday at Racine, lecture on municipal Socialism. Wednesday arranging a lecture tour through the northeastern section of the state.

STATE ORGANIZER'S DATES—Comrade Thompson speaks this week, Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday at Racine. Thursday before the Moulder's Union in Beloit. Feb. 24th, Neenah: 25th, Kaukauna (subject to change); 26th, Green Bay; 27th, Marinette; 28th, Algoma; March 1st, Keweenaw; March 2nd, Manitowoc; March 3rd, Two Rivers; March 4th, Sheboygan Falls. (The last five have not been heard from as yet and are therefore tentative.) March 5th has been accepted by the Port Washington local.

STATE PRIMARY LAW.—Many inquiries have been received at headquarters from the comrades relative to the explanation of the new state primary election law. This is a matter of so much importance that we are going to prepare a letter of instruction on it, in which all questions will be answered, and this letter will be sent through our bureau of information and in this way every comrade who has inquired about it will receive the information he seeks in due time, so just be patient until we get our machinery in motion, which will be very shortly.

THE ORGANIZATION ARMY.—Last week we reported Mrs. F. W. Weaver sending in her first contribution to the organization fund and her application to be enrolled as a member of the army. The very next mail brought us a letter from Frank Gauthier of Ashland, also asking to be enrolled as a member of the W. O. A. The punch cards for this work are being printed and will be sent out in due time.

STATE BUREAU OF INFORMATION.—The first letter of this bureau will be out this week.

The Federated Trades Council of Milwaukee

HEADQUARTERS: 318 STATE STREET,

Telephone Main 1742.

The regular meetings of the Council are held first and third Wednesdays at 8 o'clock, at Frat's Gemeinde Hall, Fourth Street, betw. Cedar and State Streets.

OFFICERS:

JOHN REICHTERT, 318 State St., Cor. Secretary; FREDERIC HEATH, 364 Sixth St., Rec. Secretary; HENRY HOPPE, 2418 Chambers St., Fin. Secy.; W. H. TONSON, 860½ Twenty-seventh St., Treasurer; M. WEISENFLUCH, 417 Eleventh St., Sergeant-at-Arms.

Fraternal Agent: FRANK J. WEIER, 318 State St.

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